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THE FAMILY RECORDS OF ANDREAS DE POZZA FROM 1569-1603

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ABSTRACT: The *Privata* series of the Dubrovnik State Archives contains several dozens of private and business books of the Dubrovnik nobility and merchants from the fifteenth and the sixteenth centuries. Even though the majority of such private books have been lost, the ones that have been preserved represent an important fund for the research of business matters and family life of Dubrovnik residents in the Middle Ages and in the Early Modern Times. The article deals mainly with the family chronicle of Andreas de Pozza, son of Antonius, which had been kept between 1569 and 1603.

Key words: Middle Ages, Dubrovnik, nobility, family, private family records

On fifteenth and sixteenth-century Ragusan private records

Many of the private family and business records of the Ragusan patricians and merchants have not survived. These books were usually kept at home, in benches, wardrobes and bags,¹ possibly over two or three generations. Their

¹ Ignacij Voje, »Privatne poslovne knjige dubrovačkih trgovcev (XIV stoletje)«, *Zgodovinski časopis* 34 (1980): p. 82.

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lives ended together with the business ventures of their authors, long buried in the Franciscan or Dominican friary or some other Dubrovnik cemetery. Yet the *Privata* series (ser. 19) of the State Archives of Dubrovnik still keeps a part of this treasure that illuminates the life and affairs of the business-minded Ragusans from the period of the Dubrovnik Republic. Several dozens of books from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries have been preserved, varying in form and content.

Historiography is familiar with merely a few of them. C. Leyerer was the first to write about them though his interest rested mainly on the general method of bookkeeping, types of accounts and the process of their recording. He centred on the records of Nicolaus and Lucas de Caboga, Nikola Miošić and Stjepan Radonić, providing only short examples from them and failing to cite the archives reference numbers.² Ignacij Voje wrote about three books that had been published.³ The book of Michael de Luccari, kept from 1432 to 1440, was published by Mihajlo Dinić.⁴ A valuable collection of business books of Nicolaus, son of Johannes de Caboga and his non-patrician half-brother and lifelong business partner Lucas de Caboga (kept from 15 December 1426 until 25 May 1433) was published and edited by Desanka Kovačević Kojić.⁵ The ledger of Đivan Pripčinović concerning his business affairs in Novo Brdo (1456-1479) was examined by Bogumil Hrabak.⁶

Besides the earlier mentioned published books, the State Archives of Dubrovnik houses many others. Business books of the accounts payable and receivable (*Dare et avere*) tend to prevail, journals (*giornale*, *zornale*), memos

² C. Leyerer, *Die Handlungsbücher der Republik Ragusa: ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Buchhaltung*. Triest: K. K. Handels- und Nautischen Akademie, 1907.

³ I. Voje, »Privatne poslovne knjige dubrovačkih trgovcev«: pp. 77-84.

⁴ Mihajlo Dinić, »Knjiga Mihaila Lucarevića«, in: Mihajlo Dinić, *Iz dubrovačkog arhiva*, vol. I. [Zbornik za istoriju, jezik i književnost srpskog naroda, section III, vol. 17]. Beograd: SANU, 1963: pp. 35-91.

⁵ The main book and journal of the two brothers from the B series of their business books kept from 15 December 1426 to 25 May 1433 was published by Desanka Kovačević Kojić, while the memo (*Squarçio*) remained unpublished as well as the Diary. Cf. Desanka Kovačević Kojić, *Trgovačke knjige braće Kabužić (Caboga) 1426-1433*. [Spomenik SANU, vol. 137]. Beograd: SANU, 1999; *Squarçio*, *Privata*, ser. 19, vol. 28, f. 142 (State Archives of Dubrovnik, hereafter cited as: SAD); *Giornale del libro della compagnia di ser Nicolo e Luca de Chaboga, zoe un libro nel quale tratti li resti del libro giornale segnato C*, *Privata*, vol. 37 (SAD).

⁶ *Privata*, vol. 3b (SAD); Bogumil Hrabak, »O hercegovačkim vlasima prema poslovnoj knjizi Dubrovčanina Đivana Pripčinovića«. *Glasnik Zemaljskog muzeja* N. S. 11 (1956): pp. 29-39.

(*squarçio*, *libro piccolo*, *quaderno*), general account books (*libro grande*, *maestro*), alphabetical registers, shop sales ledgers (*quaderni stacionis*).

Historical sources testify that by the second half of the thirteenth century the Ragusan merchants had established the practice of keeping business records of diverse nature. From as early as the end of the fourteenth century there is evidence that these business books were kept according to the principle of double entry bookkeeping under Venetian influence. Valuable data from the fifteenth century show that the merchants commonly resorted to this method of bookkeeping. For instance, the business books of the Caboga brothers were strictly kept by the rules of double-entry bookkeeping, in the same manner they had kept their former books, no longer extant, beginning from 1417, shortly after the first Venetian books kept according to this system.⁷ Although by law all business arrangements for sums higher than 10 perpers had to be registered at the Dubrovnik notary, in the codices *Debita notarie*,⁸ the preserved notarial registers indicate that merely a modest portion of Dubrovnik's commercial bustle was recorded. The earlier mentioned books of Luca and Nicola de Caboga are an illustrative example. Apart from specifying the exact quantity of the goods entered (silver mostly), the purchase and sale price of the goods, currency rate, bills of exchange, Italian banks, services, customs and other fees, transport, profit and loss, they register business associates and trade between the Balkans, Dubrovnik and Italy. Upon the detailed data from these books one is able to reconstruct the business careers of the two brothers, but also the history of trade between the Balkan states, Dubrovnik and the Italian markets.⁹ Equally interesting are the black lists containing names of debtors and leaseholders of land, and their obligations. It is not rare that the book owners enter court verdicts, data on the divisions of the estate, tutorship, household inventories of the city residences and their villas outside Dubrovnik, annual production of wine from their estates, tolls, house rents and the names of the leaseholders.¹⁰ Merchants often kept several business and family records

⁷ D. Kovačević Kojić, *Trgovačke knjige braće Kabužić*: pp. 16-17.

⁸ Ignacij Voje, »Knjige zadolžnic, posebna notarska serija dubrovnika arhiva.« *Zgodovinski časopis* 22 (1968): pp. 207-223.

⁹ D. Kovačević Kojić, *Trgovačke knjige braće Kabužić*: pp. 14-15.

¹⁰ *Privata*, vol. 1 (the book of Jacobus Mathei de Georgio); vol. 1a (two books of Rusko Radojević); vol. 2 (the book of Jacobus de Gondola); vol. 2a (the account book of Stephanus de Basilio); vol. 3 (business books of Radohna Radovčić); vol. 3b (the book of Đivan Pripčinović); vol. 4 (*Dare et avere Marcovich*, 1475-1479.); vol. 4b/1 (*Dare et avere Vincentii Fr. de Pozza*, 1507-1518).

of different kind, yet no such collection has been preserved, only reference to them in the owners' wills. All the books here mentioned and preserved were written by men.¹¹

The books of Ragusan merchants, both patricians and commoners, vary in size and colour of the binding and are marked by signatures, signs and letters as references to other business books.¹² Some books contain *ex libris* or the owner's sign.¹³ Apparently the books were very valued by their owners as testified by the wills, in which these books are always called upon as the documents the executors should fully trust. In his will Nicola de Caboga requests that his books are not to be disclaimed or sold, but are to be kept for his sons to learn from them.¹⁴ The practice of bookkeeping was handed down from father to son. Upon marriage or commencing his own business, the son would start his own book, often with references to his father's records. The books differed in content. For example, the book of Marin Radulović, bound in stamped leather and written with calligraphic zeal, contains entries related to his business affairs and property at land and at sea: sales documents, court verdicts, decisions of the *Consilium rogatorum*. This book is among the rare ones with the original documents enclosed.¹⁵ The beautifully decorated book of Lucas de Luccari contains his household inventory, including furniture items, tableware, clothes and ship equipment.¹⁶ The book of Marcus de Bona contains record of his assets, income, endowments, legal actions, property divisions, execution of will and legacies for the marriage of the patrician girls. The date and hour of his death was also added: having received the Holy sacrament, he passed away around three o'clock on 30 August 1481.¹⁷

¹¹ D. Kovačević Kojić mentions that "Andreja, daughter of Ivan... kept her own ledgers" (*Trgovačke knjige braće Kabužić*: p. 16, n. 60). The books, however, proved to have been kept by Ivan's son Andreas (*Vlajkijeva genealogija Antunina*, RO 161 - Čingrija, vol. 2, ff. 137v, 139r; *Testamenta notariae*, ser. 10.1, vol. 23: ff. 97v-99v; SAD).

¹² I. Voje, »Privatne poslovne knjige«: pp. 82-83.

¹³ *Privata*, vol. 5b: "... iste liber est Ioanes Pallicuchial/ Et suorum amichorum et in-/cepit ad scribendum/tercio nona die me/nsis ienari/1570/; vol. 31, f. 1: *Libro Maestro di Stefano di Polo Radognich 1585*; vol. 42, f. 1: *Quaderno A. del amministrazione di Nicolo Miossa stabilito in Venezia, dell'anno 1571*.

¹⁴ *Testamenta notariae*, vol. 15, ff. 59v-60r; I. Voje, »Privatne poslovne knjige«: p. 83; D. Kovačević Kojić, *Trgovačke knjige braće Kabužić*: p. 16.

¹⁵ *Privata*, vol. 5.

¹⁶ *Privata*, vol. 5a, f. 160v (*Atti relativi a i beni Radulovich 1524-1562*). This Luca was the grandfather of Điva, wife of Andreas de Pozza.

¹⁷ *Privata*, vol. 4b (*Amministrazione dei beni relitti da Marco de Bona m. 30. Ag. 1481*).

Several books from the sixteenth century have survived, their owners being Ivan Palikuća, Franciscus de Sargo, Mihovil Dobrotić, Sabinus de Sargo, Zanolius Ciuli, Andreas Luce de Sargo, Stephanus Pauli Radonjić, Vizenzo Stefani of Ancona, Marinus Francisci, Blasius Luchei, Rafael Nadini, Nicola Miošić, Benedictus Marini de Resti, Martolus de Georgio and others. Most of these business records are actually ledgers and journals containing accounts of land transactions, mine and customs concessions, and in some cases execution of wills, expenditures, alphabetical registers and copies of important documents, as well as family records.¹⁸ The Dubrovnik Archives houses a great number of fifteenth and sixteenth-century books, a collection of a size which is rarely to be found outside Italy.¹⁹

The book of Andreas de Pozza

Amongst the prevailing business books, there are rare samples of private records containing entries on one's family and household which had caught my attention. One in particular, a small and narrow book (*quaternus cartarum longarum*)²⁰ kept in the State Archives of Dubrovnik, *Privata*, vol. 10. It is made from paper and bound in parchment, heavily damaged by dampness and partially unreadable. Apart from the archives references, on the parchment binding tied in the middle with a leather ribbon stands the title—*Nicolo & Maruscia di Gozze, 1569-1599*, in Ghelcich's catalogue, however, registered under the title *Amministrazione Niccolo e Maruscia de Gozze, 1569-1599*. Indeed, the first page reads: *ser Nico de Gozzi*, and in the next line *Maruscia, sua moglie*. The lines below contain the following: *ser Lucca, ser Raffaele, ser Andrea, d. Nicoletta*. These names have apparently misled the scholars in their attribution: the book did not belong to the well-known patrician couple Nicolaus de Gozze and Maria de Gondola,²¹ but to Andreas Antonii de Pozza (1549-1614). As the names of Nicolaus and Maria are not mentioned later in the

¹⁸ *Privata*, vols. 5b, 7-9, 11-15, 27, 29-35, 38-44.

¹⁹ For example, the two business books from Ljubljana date as late as the first half of the sixteenth century (Sergej Vilfan, *Ljubljanski trgovski knjigi iz prve polovice 16. stoletja* [Viri za zgodovino Slovenecv, vol. 8]. Ljubljana: SAZU, 1986.

²⁰ I. Voje, »Privatne poslovne knjige«: p. 81.

²¹ Along with many others, I myself accepted the wrong attribution (Zdenka Janeković Römer, *Okvir slobode. Dubrovačka vlastela između srednjovjekovlja i humanizma*. Zagreb-Dubrovnik: Zavod za povijesne znanosti HAZU u Dubrovniku, 1999: pp. 360-361), which I here rectify.

book, it is quite puzzling why Andreas de Pozza decided to write their names on the first page of his book. One of the presumptions is that he chose to open his book with the names of his friends. Nicolaus and Andreas were peers, and entered the Major Council in the same year. The entry, however, cannot date from that year, since it was not until 1575 that Nicola got married. The others mentioned cannot be identified with certainty, but according to some entries it is possible that *ser Lucca* was Luca Johannis de Gozze, Andreas's friend and godfather of his son Marinus. Following a similar criterium, *ser Raffaele* could be Raphael Marini Francisci de Gozze, Andreas's senior colleague from the council benches and godfather of his son Lucas Paulus. *Domina Nicoleta* may be identified as the latter's godmother and wife of Andreas's brother Nicolaus. *Ser Andrea* is most likely Andreas de Pozza himself.

Andreas started keeping his book in 1569, upon his marriage and entry into the Major Council. Last entries were made in 1603. Several entries were added after his death in 1614: records on the death of his children and notes on debts enclosed on a separate piece of paper. The last record entered in 1628 concerns the death of Andreas's son Johannes Antonius. There is no reliable evidence on the authorship of these additions, but judging by the signature of his son Paulus in a debt note, one may assume that it was him, Andreas's youngest son. Not all the pages of the book have been filled. Namely, Andreas used the same volume for keeping records of various nature.

The following pages contain entries on the division of property between the sons of Paulus Francisci de Pozza—Franciscus, Hieronymus and Marinus—according to the father's will. The records Andreas provides date from the second half of the fifteenth century and continue until 1569, the year of his marriage. In addition to property division, he records the wills of his uncles and older ancestors. He has devoted equal attention to property distribution and bequests of the family members descending from his mother's father—Marinus Jacobi de Ragnina—but also the property division between him and his brother Marinus in 1576. Here he also adds the marriage contracts on both his father's and mother's side, documents pertaining to the families Volze, Menze and Prodanello, with whom they were related.²² As the documents have not been enclosed in full, he provides references to the chancery and notary registers.

²² *Privata*, vol. 10, ff. 1v-6r.

The genealogy and memory of his own family continued to occupy the mind of Andreas de Pozza, for he recurrently writes about his ancestors, bringing genealogical data not only on the Pozza family, but equally so on the Gozze, Volze and Ragnina.²³ He compiles information on the wills of the Pozza male lineage, starting with Nicolaus de Pozza, who died of plague in 1348, and ending with the wills of his father and uncles, and his own marriage. Next to some of his ancestors he added the names of their wives, without surname.²⁴ He starts his mother's family tree with Marinus Andree de Ragnina, or the middle of the fifteenth century. He devotes most attention to his grandfather Marinus Jacobi, grandmother Nicoleta and mother's brothers Raphael and Stephanus.²⁵ He devoted equal attention to the female lineage and the Gozze family of his grandmother Nicoleta, starting from 1449. Grandmother Nicoleta, daughter of Raphael de Gozze, inherited certain property after the death of her heirless brothers Marinus and Franciscus.²⁶ Through mother's grandmother Petronila, daughter of Nicola Andrei de Volze, Andreas was related to the Volze family, bringing details on the genealogy on this side as well, starting from 1432.²⁷ He closes each of the lineages with his grandfather and grandmother on both sides, his parents and their marriage agreement and wills. He makes no note of the genealogy or ancestors of his wife Johanna (Điva) de Luccari.

The general genealogical and property outline is followed by a section in which Andreas enters real estate acquired by his father Antonius in the area of Ston, in Dubrave (today Pelješka Župa), Ombla, Mravinjica (present-day Mravince near Slano), Mravinjac (village near Trsteno), Podgorje, Sreser (Janjina), Osobljava and Viganj (villages on the Pelješac Peninsula). On these estates he also bought several *case de vilani*. From some widows selling their estates *pro nutrimento* he purchased land on the island of Šipán, later expanded and developed by his son Andreas. Antonius bought a house in Ston and in Dubrovnik, in St Mary of Castello street, sold by Andreas in 1580. Andreas's uncle Franciscus Pauli de Pozza is also mentioned as a real estate buyer.²⁸

²³ For genealogical data I am indebted to Nenad Vekarić.

²⁴ *Privata*, vol. 10, f. 32v.

²⁵ *Privata*, vol. 10, ff. 33, 35v.

²⁶ *Privata*, vol. 10, ff. 33v, 45v.

²⁷ *Privata*, vol. 10, ff. 34r, 56v.

²⁸ *Privata*, vol. 10, ff. 6v-8r. For valuable toponomastic advice my thanks are due to Nenad Vekarić.

Andreas himself purchased estates in Mravinjica and Podgorje in *Terre Nove* (Dubrovačko primorje).²⁹ He considered it important to note down the verdicts by which his father was obliged to pay certain amounts of money. In addition to this diary he evidently kept other books, since he mentions that more detailed information on this may be found in the journal and in *libro di pontadure*.³⁰ From *Diversa notarie* he copies in full a document of 21 May 1580, by which toll to the amount of 23 perpers and 6 grossen from the estates in Ponikve and Trstenica have to be transferred to the estates of Petrus de Menze in Dubrave, Županje Selo and Ponikve.³¹

A *tergo* Andreas de Pozza first records events that struck him the most. On the back of the covers we find a note on the “crisis caused by the Turks in Konavle, because of which the Ragusan government spent 40,000 scudas for envoys, soldiers and other expenses”. Although the covers are badly damaged, one can gather that the year in question was 1590. He referred to the great crisis caused in 1589 by Ejnehan, Ottoman officer in Belgrade, who claimed Konavle, Gruž, Slansko primorje and Ston to be part of the Ottoman Empire through inheritance of Ahmed pasha Hercegović. He demanded that these areas be organised into a separate *sancak* (district), for which the Dubrovnik Republic would pay rent. The Ragusan government tried to resolve the crisis through negotiations at the Porte and with the local Turkish dignitaries. The Republic was consternated by Ejnehan’s military offensive towards the Dubrovnik border and seizure of the Ragusan envoys. Soldiers were recruited and armed, yet the crisis was resolved thanks to diplomacy.³² This menacing episode from the Republic’s history managed to find place in the records of Andreas de Pozza, aside the most important facts from his private life. Andreas was a nobleman, hence a member of the Major Council (from 1569), but was not in the narrow circle of those who brought political decisions—he was never a member of the Senate nor of the Minor Council. He was informed about all the current issues better than the common folk, yet he tended to sit on the fence as far as decision-making was concerned.

²⁹ *Privata*, vol. 10, ff. 9v-10r.

³⁰ *Privata*, vol. 10, ff. 8v-9r.

³¹ *Privata*, vol. 10, f. 9rv.

³² Toma Popović, *Turska i Dubrovnik u XVI veku*. Beograd: Srpska književna zadruga, 1973: pp. 348-361.

On the first folio *recto* Andreas made a few notes on the earthquake that had struck the Dubrovnik region and destroyed the churches in the city and in its surroundings. Due to damage, the year is illegible. He adds that his account is actually *per memoria*. Based on the research of the seismic activity in this area, it was in the period between 1563 and 1572 that several strong earthquakes had been recorded.³³ Considering that Andreas started keeping his book in 1569, the earthquake in question must have taken place between that year and 1572, after which no seismic activity has been observed. Andreas noted yet another earthquake that heavily struck Dubrovnik on 4 August 1603, on St Dominic's Day.³⁴ That is also the last entry made in this book. The earthquake mentioned anticipated a seismically active period which culminated in underground thunders and disastrous quakes in July and September of 1608, causing the population of Dubrovnik and Kotor to flee the area.³⁵ The three brief notes are a valuable example of altered historical perspective offered by the sources of this kind: they reveal a real man, his life, family and property threatened by large-scale political and natural disasters.

The following pages contain Andreas's daily routine and responsibilities as head of family. On 19 April 1569, he made a marriage contract *per verba de praesenti* with Giva, daughter of Franciscus Luce de Luccari. According to the arrangement, the marriage was to be consummated within a period of three years. Interestingly, this document remained incomplete, as it failed to specify Giva's dowry in cash, clothes and jewellery. A remark in the margins reads: *pactum matrimoniale non est completum*. Although *Liber dotium* makes no record of their dowry arrangement, the marriage was evidently consummated much earlier than the term agreed, considering that three years later Andreas and Giva were already enjoying their parenthood.³⁶ As comparison, Andreas's father Antonius in 1540 received from his wife Pera a dowry of 1,200 ducats, an estate in Šumet worth 850 ducats, and 50 ducats in cash. On 3 March 1580 Andreas renounced half of the mother's dowry to the benefit of Johannes de

³³ Jelenko Mihailović, *Seizmički karakter i trusne katastrofe našeg južnog Primorja od Stona do Ulcinja*. [Posebna izdanja SANU, vol. 140]. Beograd: SANU, 1947: pp. 15, 17.

³⁴ *Privata*, vol. 10, f. 1, *a tergo*.

³⁵ J. Mihailović, *Seizmički karakter*: p. 15.

³⁶ *Pacta matrimonialia*, ser. 33, vol. 9, f. 132v (SAD); *Manuali pratici del Cancelliere*, ser. 20.1, *Leggi e istruzioni*, vol. 35, *Matrimonia nobilium Ragusinorum XV-XVII*, ff. 31r-32r, f. 51r, *a tergo* (SAD).

Caboga, husband of Giva's sister Nica.³⁷ Given the post-Trident circumstances, the wedding and consummation of marriage were to proceed soon after the marriage contract itself. Andreas mentions his wife's name in his genealogies, but fails to note any details related to the marriage contract, dowry or the wedding.

His first entries in the book concern debts owed to various persons, noblemen mainly, in addition to the income earned from renting the houses and barns. He also made note of his father's debts which he had paid off.³⁸

The young father then made an inventory of the silver and goldware and other precious items of their household. Among them were trays, spoons and forks, knives, pen, gold cross, a confetti bowl, gold pendant with a sapphire, children's gold buckle, enamel gold buckle and other valuables (*talon, catunalo*). The description of each item contains its weight in ounces and money's worth. Following *Yesus Maria*, a customary invocation with which he opens each new entry, under 20 April 1569 he lists the jewellery he had commissioned: a ring with a ruby and another with a diamond *ala moderna*, gold chain, two gold chains to be worn round the wrist, an enamel buckle with an image. He particularly underlines two rings with rubies and one with a sapphire designed *ala moderna* for his wife. Two rings he had given her before she arrived in his household and one after the wedding. Lastly, he describes a rosary (*pater noster*) made of red corals with a cross and symbols of gold. It was imported from Naples and cost him 11 ducats. A note on the cost of the material and goldsmith's work accompanies each item.³⁹ The new household had to be furnished, and he and his wife properly clothed. The betrothal robes ordered from Venice cost him 60 Venetian scudas. Here he also wrote his name: *Item io, Andrea di Pozza, ho speso nelli mei vestimenti quando mi son fidato, scudi scescanta*. He equipped the house with new linens, cushions, mattresses, carpets, bed covers, table cloths and other smaller items necessary for the household to the worth of 100 scudas.⁴⁰

Several years after marriage less money was spent on decorations, clothes and household items, as the investments focused on the estates and property

³⁷ *Libri dotium*, ser 32, vol. 15, f. 56rv (SAD).

³⁸ *Privata*, vol. 10, ff. 1v-2r, *a tergo*.

³⁹ *Privata*, vol. 10, ff. 2v, 3v, *a tergo*.

⁴⁰ *Privata*, vol. 10, f. 4r, *a tergo*.

which could earn money. In 1575 Andreas reconstructed a barn (*stranj*) on his estate in Zagujine, Dubrave (near Kuna on the Pelješac peninsula) with the purpose of keeping rams in it. The construction material—roof tiles, lime and sand transported from Konavle and Drijeva—together with the carriers and builders added up to 34 scudas. That same year he had reconstructed the barn in Kućište on the Pelješac peninsula at the cost of 40 scudas. Next year Andreas invested in the construction of his garden in the Ombla, this time for pleasure rather than business. The garden saw considerable improvements: the space was walled in, a gate was put up and a wall supporting the pergola, all amounting to 84 scudas. In 1578 he expanded the house on his Šipan estate and added an extra floor. The beams, lime, sand, tables, stairs and other necessary items as well as the construction workers cost him 100 scudas.⁴¹

It is interesting that Andreas de Pozza married fairly young, when he was twenty years old. This was quite uncommon, considering that in his day the Ragusan noblemen rarely married before the age of thirty or thirty-five, forty even. The fact that there was no age gap between him and his wife and that they married early made their marriage atypical of the Ragusan nobility characterised by the Mediterranean marriage pattern.⁴² Andreas's notes on the furnishing of the house before the arrival of his wife and the commission of jewellery for her and himself bear witness to this young patrician's most devoted, if not loving, preparations for marriage.

Young Pozza became father at the age of twenty-three, after three years of marriage. A cross and an invocation *Yesus Maria* mark his entries on the birth of his first child, son Antonius, as well as his other children.⁴³ Antonio's godparents were his mother's cousin Petrus Luce de Luccari and Maria, widow of Nicola Johannis de Palmota, Andreas's aunt on his father's side. According to custom, the first-born son was named after his father's father. This naming tradition symbolised continuity of the agnatic lineage. Genealogical analysis shows that the nobility was most consistent in applying this rule through

⁴¹ *Privata*, vol. 10, ff. 5v-7r, *a tergo*.

⁴² Z. Janeković Römer, *Okvir slobode*: 199-204; eadem, »Noble Women in Fifteenth-Century Ragusa«, in: *Women and Power in East Central Europe - Medieval and Modern*, ed. Marianne Sághy. *East Central Europe*, Special Issue, 20-23/1 (1996): pp. 143-145, 148-149; David B. Rheubottom, *Age, Marriage and politics in fifteenth-century Ragusa*. Oxford – New York: Oxford University Press, 2000: pp. 86-89.

⁴³ *Privata*, vol. 10, ff. 15v-16r, *a tergo*.

generations in that all first-born grandsons of the male lineage were named after the father's father. If the male line maintained continuity, two Christian names may have been handed down among the first-born sons for centuries. This contributed to the stability of the patrician name pool and naming patterns typical of certain noble families. Name transmission had become one of the significant signs of the family continuity over generations.⁴⁴ In choosing the number of godparents for his children, Andreas did not follow the example of Blasius de Gondola, Nicola de Ragnina and many others. Similar to Italy, Dubrovnik witnessed a fashion of choosing at least ten godparents for one's child, usually from amongst priests and nobles, clients or even homeless paupers. This baptismal bond was to seal family and business ties, bring together different social ranks or serve as compensation for the services rendered. Persons from non-noble ranks were chosen mainly for clientelistic reasons, but it was also customary to honour a wretched and less fortunate man by asking him to bless a newborn child. Apparently, the bulk of the godparents stemmed from the political and business circles, the choice evidently being the result of a well-thought strategy. Andreas de Pozza, however, failed to follow the fashion of his time.⁴⁵ His choice reveals an essentially religious and distinctively familial approach to this role. The persons he chose for godparents were close to him, persons he could really trust with the spiritual welfare of his children. Besides, in conformity with the Church laws, the baptisms were also to be witnessed by godmothers. Commonly taking place shortly after birth, the baptism ceremony was rarely attended by the mother, and thus godmothers acted as their replacement. In case the child's mother died, godmother was expected to assume her place.⁴⁶ This explains why godmothers were principally chosen from among cousins, a practice also followed by Andreas de Pozza.

His second son Franciscus was born in 1573. His name, too, stemmed from the male lineage, from Andreas's great-grandfather and father's brother who was ordained for priest. This name also linked the child with his great-grandmother Nica, daughter of Raphael Nicole de Gozze, whose brother

⁴⁴ Irmgard Mahnken, »Die Personennamen des mittelalterlichen Patriziats von Dubrovnik als Quelle zu ethnographischen Untersuchungen«. *Slavistična revija* 10 (1957): pp. 281-284; Z. Janeković Römer, *Okvir slobode*: pp. 328-332.

⁴⁵ *Privata*, vol. 4a, ff. 261v-262v; Milan Rešetar, *Zadarski i Raninin lekcionar* [Djela JAZU, vol. 13]. Zagreb: JAZU, 1894: pp. 328-330.

⁴⁶ Louis Haas, »Il mio buono compare: choosing godparents and the uses of baptismal kinship in Renaissance Florence«. *Journal of social history* 29/ 2 (1995): p. 348.

Franciscus died without children, but then again through sharing the name with little Franciscus gained a symbolic heir. That was also the name of the mother's eldest brother, poet Franciscus de Luccari, known as Burina. The boy's godfathers were Michael de Zamagna and Bartolomeo Pescioni, a Florentine nobleman and merchant, husband of Cvijeta Zuzorić. Pescioni and his famous wife lived in Dubrovnik from 1570, where he apparently socialised with the young Andreas de Pozza.⁴⁷ This is yet another link between Andreas and Nicola Vite de Gozze.

In 1574 his third son was born, named after Marinus de Ragnina, Andreas's grandfather on his mother's side. His godparents were Luca Johannis de Gozze, Andreas's friend, and cousin Jela (Helena) Nicole de Pozza.

On the Day of the conversion of St Paul, on 25 January 1576, his fourth son Lucas Paulus was born. Godparents were chosen from among the relatives: Raphael Marini de Gozze and Nica, wife of Andreas's brother Marinus. The child was named Lucas after his mother's grandfather and brother. By naming his first three sons after his ancestors on his mother's and father's side, Andreas gave precedence to his kin, but the name of his fourth son was linked with his wife's family. Such a practice attests to the significance of the mother's origin—that is, the bilineal character of the noble status witnessed in Dubrovnik.⁴⁸ Yet the son's second name, Paulus, was to honour the saint on whose day the child was born, but also Andreas's grandfather of the Pozza family.

Lucas's brother Johannes Antonius was born that same year, in December, on St. John's Day, after whom he was named. He and his godfather holding him at the baptism, son of Andreas's aunt Maria, shared the same name. His second name Antonius was the name of his eldest brother who had died month and a half before his birth. This was also according to custom: a newborn child was to uphold the memory of the lost one, but also the name of the father's father. The child's godparents were Johannes Nicole de Palmota, Andreas's nephew, and Nica, wife of Franciscus Francisci de Luccari, mother's brother. Evidently, the Pozza's were very close with the family of aunt Maria de Palmota, since two members of that family had been chosen for the children's godparents. The two families also shared business pursuits as evidenced by Andreas's book.⁴⁹

⁴⁷ *Pacta matrimonialia*, vol. 9, f. 242v.

⁴⁸ Z. Janeković Römer, *Okvir slobode*: p. 329.

⁴⁹ *Privata*, vol. 10, f. 1v, *a tergo*.

The sixth son Lucas, born in 1578, was named after his deceased brother Lucas Paulus. His godfathers were cousin Nicola Hieronymi de Pozza and Julius de Gozze from Pescara.

Born in 1580, Pera was the seventh child of Andreas and Giva, her godparents being Johannes Martoli de Caboga, husband of Giva's sister Nica, and Pera, wife of Marinus Stephani de Grade, Giva's kin. Pera was not born in her father's house, but in the home of Andreas's mother-in-law Nica. Judging by the baptismal choice, Pera de Grade was probably present at birth and helped the baby girl come into the world. The girl, however, was named after the grandmother, father's mother Pera, daughter of Marinus de Ragnina.

The eighth and last child was Nicola Paulus, born in 1582, on St Nicholas Day. His godparents were Junius Mathei de Grade, husband of Giva's sister Paula, and Marica, wife of Junius Bernardi de Cerva, Giva's aunt. In addition to the saint's name, the boy bore the name of his early deceased brother and his great grandfather. Giva's influence on the choice of the godparents seemed to have increased with each new child, indicating thus the strengthening of her position in the family and upholding of female solidarity within the family, neighbourhood and friends.

Andreas's wife Giva gave birth to eight children in ten years, only five of whom reached adulthood, and only three sons – Franciscus, Johannes Antonius and Nicola Paulus – lived until their marriage age. The first-born Antonius “passed over from this world to a better one, praise the Lord” merely a few days before his fourth birthday. Son Marinus died at the age of ten. The fourth son Luca Paulus was suffocated by his wet nurse less than a month after his birth. The sixth son Luca died at twenty-eight on his way to Constantinople. Daughter Pera died single at the age of thirty-one. An entry on her death and burial the next day was made by another hand in 1611. Her father was still alive at the time, but was obviously too weak to keep the family records. The fact that the only daughter in the family was neither married nor ordained until the age of thirty, and moreover, her early death might suggest that she suffered from a health disorder or disability of some sort.

Accompanying each entry was the name of the child's wet nurse and the costs concerning their employment.⁵⁰ Apparently, Giva was much too busy with births and pregnancies (in the year 1576 she even gave two births), so that

⁵⁰ *Privata*, vol. 10, ff. 17v-19v, *a tergo*.

the children were given to wet nurses, away from home and parental care. This practice was common among the nobility and other well-off families who tried to counteract the effects of high infant mortality with high natality.⁵¹ During wet nursing most children lived in the homes of their wet nurses. The research based on numerous Italian samples shows that infant mortality was greater among the children breast fed by wet nurses than those by mothers.⁵² This being a rule rather than exception among the nobility leads to a conclusion that maternal identity of a Ragusan noblewoman was based primarily on her fertility and childbearing and not on the warm relationship with the infant and motherly role.

Antonius's wet nurse was a certain Marijeta Mihočeva from Gruž, Francisus's Marija Tonkova from Župa, Marinus's Pera Marinova from Župa, Luca's Kata Cvitkova from Vrbica. Johannes Antonius was breast fed by Frana from Župa, Luca by Kata from Župa, Pera by Rade Vickova from Ombla, and Nicola Paulus by Stanula Markova from Župa. Andreas notes that his son Antonius spent two years at the wet nurse's, failing to specify this term for other children. Each wet nurse received a salary, biscuits once a week, as well as beverage whenever the parents went to see the child. On three occasions each wet nurse also received silver rings. In all, the total expenses per wet nurse amounted to around 40 scudas. Exceptionally, Kata Cvitkova, who suffocated little Luca Paulus, received no more than a salary for less than a month of her breastfeeding.

Andreas's early marriage reveals that trade did not occupy him fully, as he was rarely absent from the city. He entered the Major Council in 1569, but apparently had little political ambition or ability. Generally, his branch of the Pozza family was fairly insignificant in Dubrovnik's political life. Andreas

⁵¹ Christiane Klapisch-Zuber, »La donna e la famiglia«, in: *L'uomo medievale*, ed. Jacques Le Goff. Roma-Bari: Laterza, 1987: pp. 335, 309; David Herlihy, »Viellir à Florence au Quattrocento«. *Annales E.S.C.* 6 (1969): pp. 1350-1351; Zdenka Janeković Römer, *Rod i grad. Dubrovačka obitelj od 13. do 15. stoljeća*. Dubrovnik: Zavod za povijesne znanosti HAZU u Dubrovniku, Zavod za hrvatsku povijest Filozofskog fakulteta u Zagrebu, 1994: pp. 43-44.

⁵² Christiane Klapisch Zuber, »L'enfance en Toscane au début du XVe siècle«. *Annales de démographie historique* 122 (1973): pp. 99-122, 110; *eadem*, »La femme et le lignage florentin (XIVe-XVIe siècles)«, in: *Persons in Groups, Social Behavior as Identity Formation in Medieval and Renaissance Europe, Medieval and Renaissance Studies*, ed. Richard C. Trexler. New York: Binghamton, 1985: pp. 147-148; Margaret L. King, »La donna nel Rinascimento«, in: *L'uomo del Rinascimento*, ed. Eugenio Garin, Roma-Bari: Laterza, 1988: pp. 273-327.

tended to focus on the family and the estate, as evidenced by the entries in his book. Much of the book is devoted to lease and farming of his estates in the Ombla and on the island of Šipan. He purchased a number of estates and brought them to purpose. From the first day of his marriage he meticulously noted the costs of clearing the land, ploughing, planting, and tillage five times a year. He was equally concerned with the expenses for the water supply, manure, seeds, sticks, building of terraces to make the most of the rocky soil, salary, food and beverage for the labourers. He cultivated several new vineyards, mainly of the malvasia wine sort. He also mentions beans (*cicero negro*), grain, laurel, olives and something he refers to as *miescania* and *obitiliza*. On his estate in the Ombla he also had a garden with a path. The records concerning the cultivation of his estates are among the last in the book. In 1603, at the age of fifty-four, he entered the tillage costs of his new vineyard planted on two terraces in the Ombla, thus closing his journal.⁵³ Judging by the book, Andreas had withdrawn from the current occupations although still in his prime. It is possible that he may have suffered from a disease, or lost his wife even. As Giva's will was not registered in the notary, we do not know the exact year of her death. Among the last entries is also the earthquake of 1603, a likely cause of some accident or unexpected change. His sons aged 30, 27, 25 and 21 at the time may have taken over the running of the estates. In any event, Andreas's records end in 1603. Between the lines filled with scarce details they tell a story of his mature years, family, preoccupations, of his position, but also of his time. From then until his death, as far as we know, he lost his son Luca and daughter Pera, and in 1614 he himself "passed away from this world to a better one".⁵⁴

Afterword

The first private Ragusan genealogies originate from the fifteenth century, this fashion being especially popular in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Noblemen, proud of their ancestors, searched for information in the surviving notarial documents and other records and combined it with the family legends

⁵³ *Privata*, vol. 10, f. 53v.

⁵⁴ Andreas's will has not survived, yet the date of his death was recorded in the *Specchio*, the book containing the names of all the patricians admitted to the Major Council (*Specchio del Gran Consiglio*, *Manuali pratici del cancelliere*, ser. 21.1, vol. 2).

and tradition. Some of them are lineage trees in the true sense, as for instance the genealogy of the Gondola family, which begins with the names of the magistrates from the oldest documents as early as 1014. Besides the Gondola, the Gozze lineage tree from the early seventeenth century has also survived, along with the genealogical recall of the Basilio, Bona and Georgio families.⁵⁵ The main purpose of the traditional genealogies was the collective memory of the lineage's history. They had become symbols of the lineage and patrimony which was handed down through generations. It was more important to determine the lineage borders and draw the agnatic descent from the common ancestor than to establish the relationships with other lineages. This explains why the traditional lineage trees have no women entered. Similarly, male members who failed to reach adulthood were also omitted, for they neither entered political life nor left any heirs. That is why the lineage trees descend from the common ancestor, and not ascend from 'myself'. They display the essential significance of the male descending line which guaranteed the legacy of the status, name and property.

The private family books such as this of Andreas de Pozza reveal a somewhat different genealogical interest. They do not descend from the ancient ancestry of the eleventh and twelfth centuries but start from "ego", and show equal concern and respect for the male and female lines ascending to an individual, the author of the book. Apart from genealogies, they provide other information their authors considered worth noting. Although the modest wording of these books cannot compare to the vivid depictions of the era afforded by the *ricordanze* of Florence, they provide an insight into the goals of an individual, class and era—kinship, land and faith. Each entry and each activity Andreas opens with an invocation †*Yesus Maria*. He greets his children into this world with the words *Con nome di Dio* and parts from them accepting their and his human destiny with the belief: *I Dio sia lodato*. By attributing

⁵⁵ 20. IV. 1693. *Arbor seu Descriptio generis et familiae de Gundula fideliter fuit extracta ex tabella veteri ab antiquitate conseruata domi unius ex nostris nobilibus, et facta colatione pariter compertum fuit concordare cum publicis libris, qui inscribunt Specula in quibus scribuntur nomina nobilium Ragusinorum incipiendo ab anno 1400 usque ad hanc diem.* (Getaldi-Gondola Archives, RO 187, vol. 14; SAD); *Albero genealogico della famiglia di Gozze e notizie istoriche sulla prosapie della medesima redatte de fra Ambrogio de Gozze, domenicano 1605*; Bassegli-Gozze Archives, Genealogy, VII; Irmgard Mahnken, *Dubrovački patricijat u XIV veku* [Posebna izdanja, vol. 340]. Beograd: SANU, 1960: pp. 233, 258; tables XI/1; XXVI/1; XXXIV/1; Milorad Medini, *Starine dubrovačke*. Dubrovnik: Jadran, 1935: p. 104.

great importance to land and his estate, Andreas may be said to have been a paragon of his time. Retreat to the country estates, withdrawal from business, different education was a process which marked the nobility throughout Europe, and also the Dubrovnik Republic in its specific way.⁵⁶

The book of Andreas de Pozza is a genuine family memorial which records everything he considered of importance for his family: births and deaths of his children, genealogies, marital contracts, division of property, acquisition of real estate, court decisions, valuable household items, estates, household expenses, and debts. Rare sources such as these allow us to step into the private life of an individual and his day. Through these sources the reality of the Middle Ages and the early modern period touches us in a new way, strumming the chords of our own life.

⁵⁶ Z. Janeković Römer: *Okvir slobode*: pp. 280-283.